

Message Text

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PAGE 01 COPENH 03111 051331Z

46

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 3111

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3.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ENRG, MCAP, MARR, PGOV, UNGA, YO, DA

SY, XF

SUBJECT: TITO VISIT TO DENMARK--SUBSTANCE OF TALKS

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PAGE 02 COPENH 03111 051331Z

REF: COPENHAGEN 3092

SUMMARY, IN PRIVATE TALKS WITH DANES, TITO CONCENTRATED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON CYPRUS AND ME SITUATIONS, VIEWING BOTH AS ELEMENTS IN SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION ALONG GEO-POLITICAL FAULT LINE RUNNING FROM EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN TO SOUTH EAST ASIA. IN AFTERMATH OF RABAT SUMMIT, TITO WAS VERY PESSIMISTIC ON PROSPECTS FOR ME PROGRESS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF OBTAINED RUNDOWN ON TITO'S STATE VISIT LAST WEEK FROM MFA SOURCE, WHO WAS PRESENT DURING HARTLING-TITO TALKS AND OTHER YUGOSLAV/DANISH BILATERALS. SOURCE EXPLAINED THAT PREVIOUS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVT HAD ISSUED ORIGINAL INVITATION TO TITO, DUE PRESUMABLE TO NATURAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC INTEREST IN YUGOSLAV SOCIAL SYSTEM. INHERITING THIS OBLIGATION THE HARTLING GOVT HAD AN INTEREST IN EXPLOITING, IF POSSIBLE, TITO'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB OIL-PRODUCING STATES.

2. OBVERSELY, SOURCE STATED YUGOSLAV INTEREST WAS DUE TO THEIR POLICY OF BALANCING VISITS TO EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES WITH VISITS TO WESTERN EUROPE, WHILE DEVOTING MOST ATTENTION TO NON-ALIGNED BLOC. HE CONJECTURED THAT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TITO ALSO APPEARED INTERESTED IN UNDERLINING HIS GOOD HEALTH AND FACT THAT HE WAS IN CONTINUED COMMAND. DESPITE RUMORS OF A SLIGHT STROKE, TITO HAD DISPLAYED NO SIGNS OF MENTAL OR PHYSICAL DISABILITY. ALTHOUGH DANES HAD ANTICIPATED SOME MENTION OF YUGOSLAV CONCERN OVER SOVIET PRESSURE (COMINFORMISTS PLOT, ETC. THIS TOPIC WAS NOT TOUCHED UPON DURING THE VISIT.

3. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, THE YUGOSLAVS WERE INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING ONLY TWO SUBJECTS: CYPRUS AND THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THEIR SEPARATE TALKS WITH APPROPRIATE DANISH COUNTERPARTS, TITO, FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL PRESIDENT BIJEDIC AND DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOJSOV DELIVERED NEARLY IDENTICAL MONOLOGUES OVER THESE TWO ITEMS, AS IF TO INSURE THAT DANES GOT THE MESSAGE. IN GENERAL THE YUGOSLAVS VIEWED BOTH PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF EXTREME "REALPOLITIC" SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION, TITO TOLD THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 COPENH 03111 051331Z

DANES, WAS NOW CONCENTRATED ALONG A GEOPOLITICAL FRONT, OR POLITICAL "FAULT LINE" EXTENDING FROM THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN THROUGH SOUTH ASIA INTO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WESTERN OCEANIA. THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE US AND USSR AT THE NORTHERN END OF THIS FAULT LINE WAS A BASIC TO BOTH THE CYPRUS AND MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

4. CYPRUS: IN THE YUGOSLAV VIEW THE US HAD INSTIGATED

THE CYPRUS CRISIS AS A MEANS TO ACHIEVE EVENTUALLY A MILITARY ADVANTAGE IN ORDER TO BALANCE OFF RECENT SOVIET GAINS IN SOMALIA AND ADEN. MILITARY BASIS IN CYPRUS WERE NECESSARY AS A MEANS OF OUTFLANKING SYRIA, E.G., "PLACING SYRIA BETWEEN CYPRUS AND ISREAL" SINCE SYRIA WAS INCREASINGLY BECOMING THE THREAT TO THE MIDDLE EASTERN MILITARY BALANCE. ACCORDING TO ALL THREE YUGOSLAV SPOKESMEN THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS CONFLICT DEPENDED UPON (A) THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS (B) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUITABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH NATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND (C) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES AND BASES FROM THE ISLAND. IN PRIVATE TALKS NONE OF THE YUGOSLAVS MENTIONED THE RETURN OF MAKARIOS. IN EXPLAINING POINT (B) HOWEVER TITO HAD REMARKED THAT "MAKARIOS AGREED" THAT A LARGE DEGREE OF DECENTRALIZED CONTONAL AUTONOMY WOULD BE NECESSARY BELOW AS EVETUAL UNIFIED ALL SYPRUS GOVT.

5. MIDDLE EAST: TITO WAS PESSIMISTIC ON THE MIDDLE EAST SEEING GREAT RISK AS PRESENT FOR AN OUTBREAK OF SUPERPOWER CONFLICT OR THE GENESIS OF WWII. THE BASIC FAULT HE SAID LAY WITH ISREAL FOR REFUSING TO WITHDRAW FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND DENYING PALESTINIANS THEIR RIGHTFUL CLAIM TO A NATIONAL HOME. IN CASE OF AN OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES YUGOSLAVIA WOULD SUPPORT THE ARABS AS IT DID IN THE OCTOBER WAR. NEVERTHELESS YUGOSLAVIA WAS ATTEMPTING TO RESTRAIN BOTH SIDES. THE US WOULD HAVE TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON ISREAL BEFORE ANY PROGRESS COULD BE EXPECTED.

6. TITO TOLD THE DANES THAT THE US HAD SCORED SOME SIGNIFICANT POINTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN RECENT TIMES BUT THAT THERE WAS DROWING DISSATISFACTION IN EGYPT WITH SECRETARY KISSINGERS EFFORTS. THIS DISSATISFACTION REPORTEDLY WAS RELATED TO AMERICAN FAILURE TO DELIVER TWO INSTALLMENTS OF PROMISED CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 COPENH 03111 051331Z

AID EACH IN THE VALUE OF \$150 MILLION, WHILE AMERICAN AID CONTINUED TO FLOW TO ISREAL AT A RATE OF \$6 BILLION (TIME FRAME UNSPECIFIED)

7. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S EUQTATION SOURCE SAID TITO'S REACTION TO RABAT SUMMIT'S DECISION TO RECOGNIZE PLO AS REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTIANISM WAS POSITIVE, ALTHOUGH HE WAS SKEPTICAL ON WHETHER THE ROLE ASSIGNED JORDAN AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WAS FEASIBLE. TITO CONSIDERED FURTHERMORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 2 BILLION DOLLAR ARMS FUND TO BE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT WHTICH "MIGHT BRING ISREAL TO HER SENSES." (COMMENT: THE DANES WERE IMPRESSED BY TITO'S CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. FROM HIS CONVERSATIONS DANES CONCLUDED THAT HE OFTEN TELEPHONED ASAD AND SADAT. ON THE OTHER HAND, TITO'S LINE OF COM-

MUNICATIONS TO ISREAL APPEARED TO BE GOLDMANN OF THE WORLD
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION.

8. FROM THE DANISH SIDE HARTLING AND FONMIN GULDBERG
SET FORTHER THEIR POSITIONS BASED ON UN RESOLUTION 242 AND THE
NOVEMBER 6 DECLARATION OF THE EC NINE. HARTLING TOLD TITO
THAT IF THE DANES PLACED HOPE IN KISSINGER'S MEDIATION EFFORTS
IT WASDUE TO THEIR FREAT THAT THE UNGA DEBATE WITH PLO
PARTICIPATION WOULD EXACERBATE TENSIONS RATHER THAN PROMOTE
PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE DANES HAD ATTEMPTED TO
EXPLOIT TITO'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES
BY EXPLAINING THAT THE ECONOMIC DISASTER FACING THE INDISTRIAL
COUNTRIES WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST AND BY POINTING OUT THAT
CURRENT PRICE LEVELS MORE SEVERLY AFFECT COUNTRIES WITHOUT
DOMESTIC ENERGY SOURCES. TITO, HOWEVER, GAVE LITTLE
ENCOURAGEMENT IN RESPONSE, EXPLAINING MERELY THAT
YUGOSLAVIA WAS BEING TREATED UNDER EXACTLY THE SAME
RULES AS WESTERN EUROPE.
CROWE

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY'S PARTY ETC.

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